

Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is 428
pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the
survivor.

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his 756
spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather 424
was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob 428
died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave
instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried
with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is in- 622
herited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given 424
in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a 428
single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status 624
and is recognized by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally [648]
leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through
prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is
emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat
vague functions.

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little
chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language
expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Mana-
kadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship
established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear
from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially
important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the
little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gamáwa* or *kah't*,¹ but he is also known
as *handáwa*, superlatively good.² Little chiefs are also (collectively?)
called *málovagádjigdá*. Jews differentiated between them by *málek' tódja*
and *pagámálekáwátéha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely 183
of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be 624
said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief.
Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women.
The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and
moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets.

¹Compare the Mohave *haháwa* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word
and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *haháwa*.

²The Cocopa headman is also called good-man (information from R. H. Lowie: "The Yuma band
chief is *hon-ah-kai* (Trippel, 598). [171]

624 They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their
 ● (183) families, their farms, and their property.

624 If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would
 626 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If
 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may
 starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or
 whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat,
 people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time;
 but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you
 marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!"
 In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but
 let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving
 a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

624 Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate
 occasions (*skwigwauig*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal
 gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during
 battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The
 [156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others
 [554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger
 characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any
 [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give
 more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice.
 After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely
 away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Pos-
 sibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those
 of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading
 part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any
 peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor
 prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

624 Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess
 554 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis-
 428 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications
 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified,
 industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these quali-
 ties will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father
 failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was
 such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big
 chief, Wasakwivamä. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and
 Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja
 in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

DANCES

ANNUAL DANCE

The one general dance (*yimda*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. 527
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The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. [648] The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7-18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44-53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Mamkalja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. 527
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DEATH CUSTOMS

763 Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however
 (171) does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave and
 Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is
 764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by
 relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day
 everyone gathers to wait for several hours or perhaps the whole day.
 (624) The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care
 for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners
 (171) do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the
 (178) camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Now-
 adays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon
 level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such
 768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are
 brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are
 killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are
 pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes
 they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse
 (178) bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes.
 There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with
 the corpse shunned.

Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being
 764 burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor
 178 enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning
 was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with
 the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule,
 768 the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build
 179 elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern
 frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in
 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920
 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he
 was living part of the time in both structures.

768 Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year
 or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's
 (183) Sekis (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though,
 (428) to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

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[177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her initial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

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[114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

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182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude.

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At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house."

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It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Opler (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today.

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It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted.

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While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated.

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It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche

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182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact
836 with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was
the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
● 183 that the Navasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
178 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation
residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary
change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more
frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a
wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from re-
stricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar
change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public
opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is
milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness
of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger genera-
tion undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the sub-
ject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling
her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
864 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom
was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a
cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10
minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group
of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his
absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to
gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in
trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fel-
low tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use
it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both re-
plied that they had chastized him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid
to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
864 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several
years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking
together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in
secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

584 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently
834 in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable
183 tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities:
(1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported);
(5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the
only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is
seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by
whites probably was responsible for measures taken.

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As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl,
public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of
the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth
or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in
which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was
never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The vic-
tim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather,
upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker,
tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not
have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his
grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately re-
buked him.

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Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group
discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender
in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times.
Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity
of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that
because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped
up as wives as soon as they were nubile."

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In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies
(living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight
were from 16 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them be-
came a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had
borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage
or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no
attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18
to 55 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed,
or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total
of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approxi-
mately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24
girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother),
eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a
time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her

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Possible Sources of Ambivalence

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Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain inconsistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two such patterns were the following: (1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloofness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances, and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa association of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

[609] In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal feminine behavior pattern was stressed. It is said that in former times both girls and mature women were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their family. Spier (1928, 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants concur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was alone, even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to return later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

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Women, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their camp areas on the plateau or Esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired.

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In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males.

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A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify.

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A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline.

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By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage.

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584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

[892] Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Havasupai point of view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't like sex.")

842 No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

896 If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." 584 That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

584 In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[893] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious.

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However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood.

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With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know."

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While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired.

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832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
[177] position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disre-
garded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selec-
tion of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has
gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically
to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further,
to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside
and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception,
it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents,
the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841]riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their
bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward
the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four succes-
sive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly
married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this
pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in
recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its
practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning
the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly
and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in
the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to rec-
ognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be sur-
reptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial
marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain
or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes
trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occur-
rence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised
the boy. "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later
on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing [626] primarily that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospital to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six [586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen 582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly. The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made 584 no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of [586] the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have predicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the 582 foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that [586] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations [183] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have [585]